1: Honigmann E-6 (1943)1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

scribe the progress of a boat in rough water, the hand dips up and down as the arm is slowly moved from one side of the speaker's body to the other. Shooting of a gun is illustrated by holding the left hand close to the speaker's face, the fingers close together touching the thumb. The other arm is outstretched, the fingers held in the same position and directly in line with the left hand. When the speaker mentions the gun being fired, he spreads out the fingers of both hands in a quick, flaring movement.

An obscene sign frequently demonstrated by boys and sometimes by girls is made by clenching the fist with the thumb inserted under the index finger. This signifies coitus. In dancing hand pressing is often used as an erotic overture. A number of conventionalized gestures are used in the gambling game, including the indication of number by raising the corresponding number of fingers. Other gestures include shaking the head up or down in affirmation or from side to side to express negation. The arms are used to express size. The left arm is stretched out, palm sideways, and size indicated with the right hand being placed at a right angle to the appropriate point. The point where the index finger joins the palm is marked off to indicate small size; the middle of the elbow or close to the shoulder are points marked off to show larger dimensions. To indicate height, the arm is outstretched palm sideways, the thumb slightly raised and the fingers close together. Height is indicated by the lowest portion of the hand. Nudging may sometimes be used for communication as, for example, to demand silence.

Aboriginally the Kaska possessed no writing. The syllabaries introduced somewhere in the Athapaskan area by Catholic and Protestant missionaries were not developed in the Cassiar. Traders took the pains to teach a few individuals to read and write simple words, but only a score or so Indian men are literate and less than half a dozen women. Today most children of Indian ancestry attend a few weeks of instruction in writing and reading each summer in the Catholic mission school. Adults set a high value on literacy and many parents express the desire that their children master these abilities so that they will be able to write simple messages to the traders, read bills, and otherwise help the older generation adjust to modern conditions. Young children do not often share these attitudes, but some young men, like Nitla, spend several hours a week laboriously trying to learn to write words and coherent sentences. Several times Nitla asked the ethnographer for lists of familiar words such as the terms for commodities, local place names, and stock phrases ("I am going hunting,") which he could copy when the need arose.

Simple journals, often little more than calendars marking off the passage of the days and months, are kept by several young men. They contain brief notations of outstanding events (arrival of visitors, hunting data, departure from the trading post, etc.). Sometimes the writer forgets to enter a day in his journal and then his calendar is awry. Excerpts from the journal kept by Harry Long in 1940 are given below; the original spelling and punctuation are preserved. Bracketed words are the ethnographer's.

Aug. 1th 1940 Stay at Lower Post, got
Aug. 2th 1940 Start from Lower Post
Aug. 3th 1940 At [Jed] place. We camp
Aug. 4th 1940 Start camp at Princess Rapr.
Aug. 5th 1940 We get Home 1940 [?] Mud Creek.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

attitudes which they place on sex, and we shall accordingly pay close regard to these covert aspects of sexual interaction.[10]

The Kaska tend to avoid idealizing the sexual relationship. For the most part there is little demonstration of affection in public.[11] Although young married couples show considerable devotion to one another, the closest bonds between sexual partners appear only after marriages have endured for some time. There is evidence for assuming that tender feelings are inhibited, and that romantic affection is most readily expressed by simply maintaining proximity to the loved object. Little evidence of romantic passion was adduced. Commenting on the blind devotion which a white man was showing Dorothy Plover, Mildred Bates said: "White man more crazy than Indian about girl. Don't think Indian man do that." Richard Day, a métis who had been educated at a Pacific Coast boarding school, admitted having been in love, but described the affect as so unpleasant—he could neither eat nor sleep—that he did not want to risk the experience again. Love, he explained, appears after a man has had sexual intercourse with the same girl several times.

Only the man's ideals of female erotic beauty were secured. Such ideals emphasize even, white teeth; coordinated eyes; a well shaped nose; and long, well combed hair. One informant, adding the qualities of tallness and plumpness, said that he did not fancy too prominent breasts. Breasts, with the exception to be noted below, have little erotic significance. Attractive clothes appear to enhance a girl's desirability, but informants denied any erotic significance for perfume or cosmetics.

The attitudes guarding against exposure of the genitals have already been indicated in connection with the discussion of defecation and urination. It may be added, that strong shame is not attached to the exposure of the breasts. A nursing woman will freely uncover the upper part of her body in public, and Irene Wiley once went swimming in mixed company wearing only a pair of bloomers.

Shyness in the presence of the opposite sex is more strongly developed in girls than in boys, although it is by no means lacking in the latter. It is hard to gauge how much of a girl's coyness and reticence represents expected social behavior and what part is a sincere expression of confusion, fear, and embarrassment. The proportion of these motivations undoubtedly varies among different girls. There are several girls, like Irene Wiley and Flower Joe, who can never be upset by sexual attention. Younger and less promiscuous girls, however, are quick to become conflicted and alarmed by too direct a sexual approach, and even young married women will often reflect genuine disturbance when they encounter sexual attention from strange men. In the man, intense shyness soon becomes inhibited in accordance with the social expectations.

Among themselves, young men often discuss sexual topics and would readily do so upon the invitation of the ethnographer, once his company became familiar. Always, how-

[10] For recent studies stressing the social determinants of sex see Ayres, *The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex* (1936); Steward, *Sex and the Social Order* (1946), and Honigmann, *A Cultural Theory of Obscenity* (1944). The insight that sex is multiply determined, rather than constituting a primary determinant (as Freud postulated), comes largely from Adler. See Weinberg, *The Psychology of Sex* (1931), and Meadow, *Self-Esteem* (Dominance-Feeling) *and Sexuality in Women* (1940).

[11] The display of affection in public is increasing among youths who have been outside to attend boarding school and is also evidenced by Tahltan young men and women.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

834 ever, they kept their voices low and maintained a cautious watch to prevent interruption. While alcohol still further reduces a man's sexual inhibitions, there is evidence to believe that this process takes much longer in the girl. The belief that girls will readily succumb to sexual advances when intoxicated could not be verified. Unless people are intoxicated, little
[834] direct attention is paid to sex. Obscenity is limited, and mainly expressed in gestures. Discussion of sexual processes tends to be avoided.

832 Three types of sexual stimulation may be noted and usually follow in sequence. These are communication by means of conventional signs, teasing and rough-housing, and, finally, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals. All of these types of approach are distinguished by the fact that they do not rely on words; as we shall show, the whole sexual episode can easily be executed without speech.

832 The principal conventional signs serving to manifest sexual interest are winking and
201 hand pressing. The latter is a common means for boys (and sometimes girls) to express sexual attention toward a dancing partner. Agreement to the invitation implied in the gesture is indicated if the partner returns the pressure. In many women the sign (although it may be returned) provokes a storm of real or affected embarrassment. Pinching the face and thighs are other gestures used to manifest sexual interest.

832 Among young unmarried people, teasing and rough-housing are the commonest ways of sexual stimulation, serving as a means of overcoming the difficulties related to a verbal sexual approach. Obviously a direct solicitation to coitus would not succeed in the society since, under such circumstances, most unmarried girls would immediately run away in embarrassment or fail to respond. Furthermore direct sexual solicitation would be embarrassing to the boy. Teasing and rough-housing are usually limited to nighttime, when boys encounter girls in Lower Post or around a house where a dance is in progress. Often girls initiate these actions. It is interesting to note the inception of the behavior in fourteen or fifteen year old girls, who throw bits of orange peel at young men in the safety of daylight and run off laughing as the boys threaten to catch them. Such provocation is, of course, not yet clearly sexual. At night couples often slap at each other with willow branches, push one another, or girls try to snatch boys' hats. All such actions soon lead to the girl's running off with the boy in pursuit. When the boy has caught her, usually with the girl's consent, the couple will wrestle until one or the other is thrown down. In this wrestling the boy manifests the first direct sexual approach to the girl.

As we have indicated, the third form of sexual stimulation, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals, follows a period of teasing and rough-housing and comes when the young people have moved far enough away from other people to be safe from observation. It is usually reserved until the boy has caught his partner in a dark, secluded place, preferably in thick bush. Sometimes it occurs in any social situation when intoxicated boys (more rarely a bold, intoxicated girl) initiate such behavior regardless of observers. Boys normally experience some hesitation in advancing to this form of stimulation, unless they
[571] feel sure that the girl will not resist too strongly. Should several boys operate in a group much less consideration of the girl's possible resistance obtains. Generally, some indication of the girl's willingness has already appeared in her teasing or, more importantly, is indicated when she allows herself to be caught. Direct stimulation usually involves a boy touch-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

ing a girl's genitals through her clothes or pressing the front of his body against hers, forcing her to remain against him. Sometimes a bold, intoxicated girl will cling against a boy's body, without, however, touching his penis. If sexual intercourse does not immediately follow, the boy may subsequently find many opportunities to caress the girl's body. For the most part such caresses are directed toward the hips and genitals. An interesting exception to the rule that breasts are not used as sexual zones comes from two young men, who had been outside to school, and in sexual situations grasped girls' breasts.

Intercourse is always carried out in privacy, usually at night, and is accompanied with little or no verbalization. A period of foreplay, in which the young man handles the girl's vulva and clitoris and presses his body and face close to the partner's, proceeds the act of coitus. During the foreplay the boy helps the girl remove her slacks and bloomers, but usually these garments are not entirely removed, the girl simply withdrawing one leg. The girl avoids the sight of her partner's nudity and carefully conceals her own sexual parts with her slip, dress, or blanket. Rarely will a girl assist in intromission. During coitus, in which the common ventroventral position is occupied, there may be some kissing. The coital rhythm of the male is described as slow and oscillating or wavelike, rather than sharp or jerky, with just a bare increase of tempo as ejaculation approaches. It would appear that not all girls attain the orgasm. The man's orgasm is relatively quickly attained and there is evidence that he is not concerned with waiting for his partner's climax. Following the orgasm there may be a brief period of relaxation in which additional kissing and close embracing occurs. In this post-coital relationship the girl is described as soothing and comforting.

Sexual intercourse is behavior which requires considerable patience and time. Both partners, after having signified their interest in the act, must wait until all strangers have retired or until older people are asleep. A boy's patience is also tested when there are rivals for a girl's favor at hand. Premarital sexual relationships do not ordinarily include an unmarried girl spending the night with her lover. While there is no evidence for assuming any shame or sadness immediately following coitus, the following day sees an embarrassed avoidance of unmarried sexual partners.

Up to this point we have described the pattern of sexual stimulation and intercourse for unmarried couples in summer. Variations occur in winter when the group is smaller and outdoor interaction difficult. In that season, sexual relations between unmarried people are often limited to occasions of visits. Then a boy will come to a girl's bed in the cabin after her parents are asleep. The older folks, if awakened, are said not to notice such behavior. Between husband and wife, as between an unmarried couple who have had sufficient opportunity to become sexually familiar, the period of sexual stimulation is limited to a more direct sexual approach which does not, however, always ignore foreplay, some wives being reported to arouse their husbands manually. Boys in general appear to be eager to secure new sexual partners and only as a last resort accept a willing partner who is apt to be one of the community's more promiscuous girls.

Attitudes toward sexual intercourse describe the situation as "dandy." Nevertheless there is some ideal uneasiness regarding too excessive indulgence as well as premature indulgence. Eighteen is commonly given as the age when sexual relations can safely be

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

833 begun. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach
834 seventeen. Situations prohibiting intercourse are not consistently recognized. A number of
839 youths say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will,
842 however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such inhibitions or else utilize a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have intercourse with a girl who is feared to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are available. "French safes," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dawson Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip; in fact a man who expects to be away hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

833 When intoxicated, most of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual prowess. They recount such feats as attaining several orgasms or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is also spoken of as the ability to "wear out" a girl. One story is told of three boys who exhausted a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is rare unless a youth is intoxicated. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or ten days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for promiscuous young women. Along with the high value invested in sexual capacity, goes a
[831] concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

833 That the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of im-
787 potence is indicated by material collected from and about one thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that virility declines with age, affirming that some old men are "stronger for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his incapacity had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stick. I get nervous. I try to take shot at him, My gun got no power. Goes *BBB* —goes out quick . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. He run around. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him: 'You better get away or I hit you with that gun.' " The informant tended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual incapacity. The rejection was inconclusive, however, the man saying that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively combating illness. "You kill him, that's lucky. You're safe . . . you're not going to die. Gun is great thing when you're dreaming."

833 Acute impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an aphrodisiacal effect from liquor and beer.

836 Ideally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was showing a tendency

1: Honigman E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

willingly. Any reluctance to separate or any assistance furnished by a girl's partner indicate unwillingness or at least unreadiness for intercourse. 839

Homosexuality can be divided into two types, overt homosexuality and behavior which seems indicative of repressed or inhibited homosexual tendencies. The former behavior, although socially condemned, nevertheless occurs merely, generally in the form of mutual masturbation. Informants reported overt homosexuality to occur in both sexes following puberty and to be largely a consequence of sexual frustration. "No girl, can't catch," Nitla explained, "he stuck for girl, some men do that. Girl, can't catch a man, do that, bother girl." Apart from social disapproval if discovered, the behavior is not associated with any specific sanctions. 838

Overt homosexual tendencies are often publicly demonstrated between intoxicated men. Several such instances were observed. When Richard Day, Edward Prince, and the latter's wife were drinking in the ethnographer's tent, Richard, after gesturing toward Edward's penis, began to simulate masturbation of the latter. This was really frottage, as Edward was fully clothed and the hand did not rest directly on the genitals but in their vicinity. On another occasion Old Man was drinking and, turning to Richard Day, spoke of how he had teased and wrestled with the latter when Richard was a small boy. He began to speak of men "fooling" with boys the way they "fool" with women. He gestured playfully toward Richard's genitals and referred to the youth's "little worm." At a later party Old Man told his son-in-law, Harry Lang, to give Donald Sam a cup of brew. Harry put his arms around the boy and drew the latter to his knee. He called Donald, "My little sweetheart." Donald bore this patiently but Old Man cried: "Shame, women't do that."

Behavior suggesting hidden homosexual impulses is revealed by unmarried adolescents of both sexes. It is chiefly manifested in embracing, wrestling, and by a youth playfully coming up behind another young man and pressing his body close to the latter. Sometimes a swift coital-like rhythm is manifested in these embraces. On one occasion Flower Joe was observed playfully simulating the strumming of a guitar on her cousin's, Irene Wiley's, breast. Irene showed no reaction.

No particular value is associated with male continence. Carefully regulated sexual behavior (that is, the avoidance of excess) may aid a man to live long and bring "good luck," but some sexual experience is never-the-less regarded as desirable. Continence may actually be as dangerous as excessive sexuality if it leads to "worry about girl." In such cases a man may "Lose his brains, go crazy." Therefore the advice is: "Better get married." 831 ● [177]

The idea of a woman remaining a lifelong virgin was regarded as amusing. The informant rejected this notion as an impossibility and stated that if a woman of thirty, who had never been sexually initiated, were to see a man, "She grab him. She sleep right there. More worse than dog." However the informant thought it very unlikely that young men would ever permit a woman to get that far into life without some sexual experience.

Recreation

No one who has learned to know the Kaska people can doubt their great love for recreation or "fun." Necessarily reduced to a minimum during the family's isolation in winter, recreational patterns flourish during the summer in Lower Post. The formal amusements 52 517

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

few older men, meets with little response. After everybody has had a helping there may be a brief pause before the next round is begun. Servings increase in frequency and the pauses shorten as the degree of intoxication progresses. In the space between rounds, both sexes smoke many cigarettes and indulge in conversation, the nature of which quickly becomes unrestrained. Men generally outnumber women at drinking parties, although in the winter settlement the whole family drinks, even five year old children being permitted beer and wine. In general the Indian quickly shows the effects of alcohol.

Nobody is ever severely criticized for being drunk nor are there severe guilt feelings on the following day, unless under intoxication behavior occurred which the individual has cause to regret. Drunken behavior includes recklessness, quarreling, physical aggression, singing, joking, depression, and expressions of heightened sexuality. Sometimes a form of behavior occurs in which violent aggression is coupled with complete breakdown of cerebral control. We will return to this behavior later, and here discuss the more common manifestations of intoxication.

Recklessness during intoxication is illustrated by the incident of a number of boys, ranging from seventeen to twenty-one, stealing a white man's car. They blew a tire, burnt out the battery, and finally ran the vehicle into a ditch where it was abandoned. People recognize that in the extreme cold of winter, recklessness may be fatal to an intoxicated person. An older man, however, generally remains aware of this danger. Thus one Christmas Old Man saw the necessity for keeping sober while everybody was drinking. It was very cold and he feared that if everyone became intoxicated the fire would go out and the people, particularly the children, freeze while they slept without blankets. He also warned Louis Maza, upon the latter's arrival, not to get drunk before tying the dogs and putting down brush for the animals' comfort.

Quarreling frequently occurs in the course of drinking parties but only one instance of murder under such conditions could be recalled for a period of about fifty years. Hostility rising to the surface during intoxication is quickly forgotten once the individual recovers. Sometimes there is a tendency to play down and forget all the unpleasant elements that occurred in the course of drinking and refer solely to the "fun" that was had.

While the Kaska tend to avoid sexual allusions in conversation when sober, especially in the presence of women, in drunkenness such references are readily forthcoming and the strongest obscenities or the most suggestive jokes freely uttered. Drinking is also accompanied by weakening control of direct sexual behavior and young men are often eager in soliciting coitus verbally. The sexually stimulating effect of alcohol is recognized by the Indians; although men condone this effect in themselves, they believe it wrong for girls and women to drink. Intoxicated women get "too crazy," they say.

Drinkers are reluctant to end their intoxication and when one batch of beer or wine has been exhausted eagerly inquire into the whereabouts of another. Usually this search fails and men end up producing money for bootleg whiskey or extracts and hair tonics. Only rarely does a woman like Mrs. Man put aside a few bottles of the beverage for use in recuperating from the effects of hangover. Mrs. Man's tendency is known, however, and men, after finishing a batch of brew quickly beg her permission to tap the hidden cache.

Potlatch. Apart from Christmas parties tendered to children by the missionaries, the

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

856 827 natural environment. Food is a stimulus to growth, and grub a better aid to development than straight meat. Because of the role of hereditary factors, children come to resemble their parents in height as well as appearance. The cycle of bodily growth is thought to be most intense before the age of fifteen, when it may be hindered by sexual activity. In maturity, sexual intercourse promotes the rapid growth of a girl's breasts. During early childhood, frozen elbows or knees may also retard a child's development, while accidents to the head are feared because they lead to an arrest of growth. Following physiological maturity, excessive sexual indulgence is thought to lead to rapid and early aging. In old age the growth process in both sexes partially reverses itself. Speaking of an aged person Nitla said: "He grow back again pretty soon." Seven stages of growth are popularly recognized. These are:

● [831]

Baby (or not smart)	Up to about the age of three
Half smart	From about three to seven
Enough smart	From about seven to twelve
Half big	From about twelve to seventeen
Enough big	Adult
Half old	An adult with grown children
Old	Over fifty but depending on the individual's abilities

826 The ideal proportions for the human body were defined by Nitla as moderate: "Half pretty big, pretty good." There is some evidence that small men are sometimes sensitive about their stature. For example, it was reported that while drunk Skipper once offered to fight when another man referred to him as a "little man."

826 827 Human blood may be strong or weak, the quality, as well as the initial blood itself, being derived from the parents. Weak blood leads to illness and debility but may to some extent be strengthened by a diet containing sufficient meat. Food in general renews the blood. Exercise has a tonic effect on the blood, making it "work." The circulatory system is visualized as continuous throughout the body, the blood even passing through such extremities as the little finger. By tying a line tightly around the tip of this finger, the circulation of the blood may be arrested.

826 The body hair serves in securing warmth. The eyelashes are an aid to induce sleep; their removal may also lead to frequent tears. One informant had heard of a man who had lost his eyelashes and began to shed copious tears, without, however, suffering from insomnia. The absence of the eyebrows is regarded as extremely grotesque.

826 827 Concerning the head and features, children, as already mentioned, are believed to inherit the facial characteristics of the like sexed parent; a boy comes to resemble his father, a girl her mother. The most important parts of the head are the ear, nose, mouth, and brain. Within the ear is a tube connecting the outer to the inner portion of that organ and between these two divisions is a thin diaphragm which registers sound. The nose is both an organ of smell and an adjunct of breathing, serving as a channel for the expulsion of the air taken into the lungs through the mouth. The mouth functions in taste, breathing, and the ingestion of food. The teeth are necessary to chew food preparatory to swallowing. Their principal constituent is bone, and the exposed portion is believed to be softer than the part which is contained within the gums. The loss of the milk teeth occurs in childhood after they have been "worn out." In the adult, however, wear results merely in shortening the

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

cleansing did not take place, a person would soon die from the effects of bad blood coursing through his body. The manner in which the blood and stomach interact with each other was not clear to the informant, who emphasized that blood could not enter the stomach or intestines without endangering life.

The sexual impulse in the male is believed to originate in the genitals, whose excretory and sexual functions are closely under the influence of the kidneys. The kidneys stimulate sexual desire when they become "too rich." The testicles are responsible for erection, and their excision also causes sexual desire to diminish or disappear. In a woman, the uterus arouses desire, while a stimulation of the clitoris increases the tension and, in copulation, leads to orgasm. In coitus each partner produces equivalent secretions. In the male the semen originates in the kidneys; the origin of the vaginal secretion is not known. These secretions are regarded as akin to blood, intercourse therefore resulting in a mixture of bloods.

The Kaska have no theory to explain menstruation, Nitla dismissing the question by referring to the process as "God business." He added his own version of a common attitude toward the menstruant: "No good for man . . . keep away from it that kind" and expressed the belief that intercourse with a menstruating woman tended to promote quick conception. No evidence of menstrual pain or discomfort could be obtained. As we have evidence of girls being periodically indisposed, it might seem that dysmenorrhea is not common. Amenorrhea is reported to have followed miscarriage in Lois Prince. In some women menopause is associated with headaches, abdominal and back pains, and general despondency.

Coitus, as was pointed out, leads to an interchange of the blood of the sexual partners; the man receives some of the woman's blood and the woman some of the man's. Conception, apart from spiritual reincarnation, is a result of the amalgamation of the bloods in the uterus, while in pregnancy the uterus, which has "caught" the male semen, begins to grow, surrounding the embryo with water. Apparently subsequent coitus of the woman may influence the embryo's development. This is suggested by the statement that if a woman, who has conceived, is unfaithful to her husband, the resulting mixture of two men's blood may result in damage to the forming organism. A child thus influenced in its embryonic development will be born "mean," that is, with an aggressive disposition.

Despite the ideal desirability of children, formulae for limiting as well as promoting conception are known. Only one formula for helping a woman to conceive was obtained. This prescribes that eating fetal rabbits will promote quick conception. While coitus during menstruation is said to facilitate conception, the practice is not specifically recommended for barrenness. The primary motives for having children include a desire "for company," but are chiefly economic. It is expected that when children grow old enough to hunt and assist in housework they will become economic assets making it possible for parents to retire from many routine tasks.

Mary Wiley and Paulette Donnelly stated that they did not want children. Another girl, Lois Prince, following a miscarriage decided that she did not again want to conceive and sought to induce sterility by piercing the afterbirth of the stillborn fetus with porcupine quills. This method of sterilization is said to be restricted to the Nelson Indians. When Mary Wiley sought to prevent conception, she followed an Upper Liard Indian custom.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

piece of charcoal into her mouth. Occasionally the mother-in-law threw a piece of meat to the "old woman." The brothers became suspicious of the old woman's actions and made her tell what had happened. Then they went to the owl's nest and pleaded for their wife to return. But the owl swooped down at them saying: "I'm going to eat you." The brothers became angry and one of them shot the owl with a bow and arrow. The owl failed to die and, referring to the point in its leg, said: "That's going to be my sinew."

This story was told by Old Man after he had been talking to Nitla about the latter's loss of Adele to John. He teased Nitla with living as people did in "old fashioned" days and was reminded of this story. The tale again stresses the deceitfulness of women. Although men are dependent on women, they always suffer a residual fear lest they be deceived or overwhelmed (eaten). In a burst of hostility, men fantasy using their strength to kill the ambivalent object. But male self-assertion, symbolized by the arrow, simply strengthens the woman. The closing incident of the tale might also be interpreted with reference to the self-assertion which men unconsciously invest in coitus. The penis, instead of conquering the female has its strength incorporated by the unassailable sexual object. In other words, men fear failure in their sexual relationships.

Female homosexuality and masculine striving are two elements in another folktale.

A TRIBE OF WOMEN

Two brothers, caught on an ice floe, drifted downriver until they reached Fort Liard. One of the boys was young and not smart; the other was already a little smart. They reached land and found a camp in which there were only women. The women fed the brothers. As the youths ate they saw another group of women return to camp with caribou meat. The leading woman in the camp explained that in this country all male children were killed at birth because they didn't want men. Men, they said, hurt women. Here women "bothered" each other and in that way conceived children who were painfully born through Caesarian section. The older boy told the women how children were born in the country upriver. Then the younger brother saw the "stick gun," which the women used in hunting. To fire the weapon, the hunter hit the back of an arrow with a stick. The younger brother did not believe that such a weapon was practical, and invited the women to shoot him. The women refused but the boy walked off a distance and insisted that they try. So the women killed the younger brother with the stick gun. The older boy then showed the tribe how to bury the dead in a grave instead of under a pile of brush. Later the older brother returned to his own people.[49]

[49] In Arapesh a similar myth occurs "in which a wandering male finds a group of independent women who have flying foxes (flying foxes are the symbol of aggressive, actively sexual, non-maternal women) as lovers to scratch their vulvas and who bear them only female children. The men exercise them. They are pictured as ignorant of the proper order of childbirth (for a male child) so that the first pregnant woman is cut open and dies; after which the men teaches them how to bear children properly. He then grabs all the flying foxes in their two hairy hoods and burns them up; only one small flying fox escapes and enlists all the birds to avenge the death of the flying foxes. The birds attack the men, cut off his penis and drop it among the women, who bury it unsuccessfully. Meanwhile, he has begotten enough sons to continue the race normally." (Mead, The Mountain Arapesh II Supernaturalism [1941], 345-346; see also 378-380.) Not only is the remarkable similarity of these tales, originating in two distant societies noteworthy, but more striking is the fact that both Arapesh and Kaska society patterns ambivalent attitudes to sex which this tale serves to express. In Arapesh the story "represents the man's fear of the woman's independent sexuality which threatens death." In Kaska the tale, among other things, reveals the danger which emotionally isolated men perceive in too intimate sexual interaction.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 This tale (told by Old Man) expresses the mystery which women present to men, the
x181 masculine striving of women, and man's fear of women's sexual functions. The man's un-
●831 conscious sexual passivity, suggested by the homosexual element, is indicated in the women's weapon which kills the younger brother.[8] In the younger brother we see passivity so strong that it leads to a masochistic sequence in which the man allows himself to be killed and, through interment, becomes incorporated by women. Thus the theme of the myth is once more expressive of male-female ambivalence.

157 Other unconscious ideas inferred from behavior and verbalization further expresses the
x181 pattern of intersexual hostility. The society, as already pointed out, recognizes the rela-
578 tionship between sexuality and hunting. Coitus and the self-assertive motives are uncon-sciously related, sexual intercourse being equivalent to the successful killing of game. Such an idea also carries the expression of ambivalent attitudes between men and women. Unconsciously sexual relations are interpreted as conflicts in which men are superior, but folktales reveal that men are as uncertain of their sexual powers as they often are about their economic capacities.

From these data we infer that the man's egocentric and utilitarian motivations strive for unconscious gratification through ideas of masculine superiority over women. The failure of these motives is unconsciously interpreted as making a man like a woman. That this idea should be further expressed in symbols equating the gun and penis is not surprising. The male sex organ and potency in general are perceived as weapons of mastery; this is indicated by the boasts of boys claiming to have "worn out" girls, and is also reflected in the young man's concern with his potency and the size of the penis. Schilder has pointed out that "the male sex organ is a protrusion and can therefore be symbolized by protrusions of another type. Every protrusion may then become a symbol or a sign for activity as well as for masculinity."[9] Any appearance of the gun, arrow, or stick gun in products of unconscious mentation therefore becomes significant. The importance of target practice with rifles is also partly determined from these ideas, and arises from the fact that it ensures self-assertive mastery not only actually (by improving skill) but unconsciously by relieving genital anxieties. Not only are weapons objects of protrusion, but by the Indian's own admission they are also symbols of male superiority and self-assertion, and equivalent to the penis as a weapon of conquest. These symbols emphasize the hostility which men unconsciously experience toward women and also illuminate what the woman hopes to achieve by masculine striving. By denying her capacity to have children and follow masculine allocated tasks, she is embracing assertion through male identification and denying the passivity associated with her body openings.[10] Note that women are not less eager to target practice than boys, only doing so in greater secrecy.

[8] Harry Lang, while intoxicated, once revealed his passivity by fantasying a woman with a revolver. Other examples of Harry Lang's behavior demonstrate his latent homosexuality, suggesting that unconsciously some men identify strongly with the passive female role and invest women with masculine self-assertion, a penis. The illogic of unconscious mentation, of course pursues such divergent ideas as sexual self-assertion and sexual passivity to exist side by side. See the discussion of Harry Lang's personality below, p. 333.

[9] Schilder, *Goals and Desires of Men* (1942), 173; also Fromm, *Sex and Character* (1942), 19.

[10] Schilder, *Goals and Desires of Men* (1942), 173.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

of potency failure which conditions their attitudes toward sex,[8] among the Kaska this danger is made particularly severe, first, by the threat of intercourse to a personality directed toward emotional aloofness and, second, by the chronic readiness to expect failure in any emotional crisis. Men, therefore, are ambivalent about taking the lead in sex or else do so, as in rape and mock rape, with real or symbolic aggression, which is supposed to reaffirm their sense of mastery.

The unconscious definition of the sexual act, derived from dreams and associations, confirms the impression of the sexual situation as a kind of mock rape. A typical dream of being pursued, similar to others several times reported by girls, comes from Marie Nolan.

> 6:30:45 (Lower Post). "Night before I went to sleep. Tom [her white husband] came home twelve o'clock. I said: 'I dream that somebody come to my camp. Who are you?' He said: 'Me. I get scared and I start to get up. He grabbed me. He said: 'What are you trying to do?' Then I woke up. He said I start to fight him."
>
> Asked whom she thought came into the camp, Marie said she suspected it was a soldier. She was invited to talk about soldiers and revealed that on the evening preceding the dream she had been at the restaurant when one of a group of American soldiers encountered her and tried to lure her into a truck with the promise of a drink. Marie, however, ran away. She was asked to say something more about soldiers. "These soldiers American, but I don't know who they are. I like American people. They're always fine people. I like white people. I always liked them. It must be because there's half-white blood in mine." She admitted that she had always wanted to be like white people and pointed out, with some pride, that her name did not appear on the Indian census rolls.

Marie's dream expresses an ambivalent fear of sexual attack. The fact that the dream occurs simultaneously with her husband's entrance into the camp is significant, since the dream thereby juxtaposes the white solider and Marie's white husband. Further evidence of ambivalence toward the central idea of the dream, coitus, is revealed in her association to American people, whom she likes, and white people, with whom she identifies.

A somewhat similar dream was reported by eleven year old Elsie Lang.

> 11:30:45 (Old Man's place). "I dream soldier—they drunk." The scene of the dream was Lower Post, where the soldiers pursued Elsie who sought to escape by fleeing down the cutbank.

Elsie is too young ever to have had sexual intercourse, but the dream may be interpreted as indicating her awareness of this behavior and expresses her dread of, and probably her wish for, the experience. The same girl reported recurrent dreams of running away from attacking dogs.

Eva Ardo admitted a series of dreams reflecting fear of attacks by animals and indicating the unconscious sexual significance of animal dreams.

> 6:15:45 (Lower Post). "I scared when I dream beaver. If somebody kill him, I never scared beaver. . . . Everytime, that's my dream—otter, mink, beaver. That's all. Is some boy, that otter. Then he come with me and catch me pretty near. I scared. I get away. That mink just the same boy too. Same way I see grizzly bear too. Just the same like a man. Is white man. I scared that grizzly bear. I scared black bear too."

[8] Fromm, *Sex and Character* (1941), 24.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

6:16:45. "I sleep, I dream grizzly bear . . . I scared. He go up on a tree. Just *I* see him. He run me that grizzly bear. I run after a little way. I see him a little way behind." The dream was interpreted as a fear of being pursued by somebody. From whom is she running away? "No-body," Eva replied. "That man he wants me but I lick him . . . I don't want him. Is good worker. . . ."

These animal dreams manifest the girl's fear of sexual aggression. Eva's second dream was reported following a discussion of the men who wanted to marry her and of one, particularly, with whom she was reported to be already living. In both dreams the sexual situation is conceived as attack and reacted to with dread. The intense fear of the grizzly bear, recounted by many male and female subjects, and the preoccupation with the grizzly in thinking suggest that unconsciously the grizzly bear symbolizes the emotional intensity of the sexual situation or any other intense emotional experience. In girls the grizzly bear fantasy takes the form of running away from the animal, just as in life the girl runs from the boys who want to possess her. Although boys admit conscious fear of the grizzly and also dream of this animal, they often dream or talk of overcoming the menace with a gun. In other words, the sexual situation is to be mastered with self-assertive tendencies. Failure to achieve such mastery, as in the dream of John Kean, whose gun failed when he was confronted by a grizzly, is the equivalent of sexual impotence.[86] In view of the male's unconscious definition of the sex act in terms of aggression, it is interesting to note Nitla's communication of the emotions he experienced when, as a ten year old, he saw a couple engaging in coitus. "I say: 'What the hell!' I'm scared. I think I kill woman sometime. I never think. Too young. I'm scared."[87]

Coming now to the manifestation of sexual constriction in sexual incapacity, we find the man's fear of impotence expressed in exaggerated ideas of potency. There is also evidence that girls and women are often frigid in coitus, partly, perhaps, because of the man's selfish sexual technique. Such interferences with the feminine orgastic functions may, however, be expected when the sex act is unconsciously conceived in terms of attack, and where there is strong ambivalence regarding the intensities of sexual interaction. In the man similar ambivalence, plus the fear of being inadequate to master what is defined as a self-assertive situation, may similarly result in orgastic disturbances.

Sexual sanctions further reveal the conflicting appeal of sex. All sexual activity is first of all regarded as indelicate and to be concealed. Children and youths are warned that premature sexuality arrests growth and that excessive copulation causes early aging or leads to insanity. There is probably a connection between the insanity invoked as a sexual sanction and the offense. Mental illness in Kaska society is usually described as running amok and manifesting general lack of conscious control. The intensity of the orgasm may resemble a similar dangerous disruption of control to the emotionally constricted Kaska, the sanction of insanity being projected from the fear of excessive orgastic stimulation. On the other hand, the Kaska regard some sexual indulgence as necessary for health.

If sexual constriction serves to block sexual expression, how can we account for the

[86] See above, p. 162.

[87] See his autobiographical sketch below, pp. 351–352. Also note his reference to the vagina dentata theme in the same place—the fear of death in intercourse.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 x181 831

prevalence of premarital sexual promiscuity as well as the high incidence of extramarital adultery?

Sexual promiscuity in adolescence represents a complexly determined phenomenon, all of whose keys we cannot pretend to locate. Focussing on the motivational aspects of this behavior, with only a passing nod to the awakening glandular processes and the lack of manifest controls imposed on the behavior of adolescents, we can point to this period (when drinking also begins) as providing youth with one of the first opportunities since early childhood to experience release of emotional isolation. Promiscuity is more specifically explicable as affording the egocentric component of the girl's personality an opportunity to express itself in a revolt against her parentally enforced, passive, serving role. At this age too the boy's general self-assertion begins to be important in hunting and trapping, also embracing his awakening genitality; promiscuity means for him chances to prove himself and acquire further prestige. The biologically derived anxieties of sexual failing probably reinforce his drive to succeed in non-sexual fields, while failure in those spheres in turn intensifies potency anxiety. Finally, promiscuity offers a chance to satisfy affect hunger without involving either sex in too close or inextricable emotional bonds—safety lying in the number and variety of partners. Richard Day indicates this in his complaint of having found the effects of being in love so unpleasant that he would not want to risk the state again. He explained that love arises after copulating with the same girl several times and admitted that he avoids persistent intercourse with the same partner.[48]

157 x181 836

157 x181 837

In marriage, promiscuity is probably often a flight from the anxiety aroused by too intense interpersonal relations between two people. The ambivalence with which the spouses enter marriage foreshadows the insecurity which develops when infatuation wears off and emotional isolation begins to be threatened by the dependence promoted through living together. In view of the Indians' moderate ego tonicity, it may be expected that marriage will also cause a man to feel the pressure of economic responsibilities. A husband who tries to allay this anxiety by too great reliance on his wife invites fresh anxiety from the ensuing conflict between egocentric and dependency motives. Extramarital promiscuity and divorce are attempts to substitute transitory and unthreatening sexual experiences for oppressive marriage relations.

157 x181 838

We now come to the expression of sexual constriction in homosexuality. Again it must be emphasized that it is not our intention to explain this tendency fully but only to throw light on some of its motivational foundations. Furthermore, we do not intend to discuss overt homosexual behaviors. Mutual masturbation probably grows out of close interpersonal association but we had no opportunity to study its psychological results. We can

[48] There is little doubt that sexual promiscuity is conditioned by the social climate in which it occurs, i.e., that it is structurally related to other aspects of culture. Recent papers have begun to study this problem, from the standpoint of personality in western culture but the results must be interpreted cautiously in view of the fact that the subjects of investigation comprise a selected supply of promiscuous men, namely those who contracted venereal disease. See Whitehouse and Cowan, *Some Psychological Aspects of Sexual Promiscuity* (1944), and Watts and Wilson, *A Study of Personality Factors among Venereal Disease Patients* (1943). It has also been pointed out that female promiscuity may be a product of poor emotional adjustment and latent homosexuality. See Dupouy and Picard, *Une homosexuelle méconnue* (1928).

2. For a man lack of sexual intercourse was bad. 831
He became lazy, lost his energy and spirit, and became unhealthy. Very much of it was also bad. It weakened him and made him of a cross disposition. A medium amount was best and was necessary for his health, spirits, etc.

3. A middle-aged or even elderly man made women 831
conceive more quickly and easily than very young men. 842
It seems this was because they were considered to be mature and therefore to have more stamina, and more fertility of semen.

4. Unlike the opinion held by some individuals 842
of Salish tribes, conception could only take place from [171]
one man, the seed of two men never combining or taking part together in impregnating the female. Therefore a child could have but a single father.

Customs Relating to Women As in most tribes women were 841
isolated during each recurring period of menstruation. [343]
At these times a woman had to live apart from the people in a shelter or small lodge erected nearby for the purpose. In shape and materials these lodges were like other lodges of the tribe. This custom is now going rapidly out of vogue. If the woman retires to a corner of the common lodge it is generally considered sufficient nowadays.

A woman at this time must not mingle with men

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Tsalona
upper Liard

841 *Tsalona.* Because menstruation threatened a man's dream power thereby imperiling his success in hunting, women remained isolated during the period of the flow. Widow Matoit, at Fort Nelson, spoke of willow-bark enclosures surrounding the menstruant that prevented her from seeing out of the camp. A woman also stuffed feathers in her ears in order not to hear the hunters returning to camp. A Lower Post informant described all fresh meat and fish as being taboo to the menstruant. The avoidance referred to the dislike which the animals felt for the menstrual blood.

SEX

831 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Despite a certain ambivalence regarding sexual processes the 832 Indians keenly appreciated the excitement of sexual situations. They also sought to explain the nature of sexual attraction by referring to the anecdote of an old man who could not understand why the sexes desired physical contact with each other and asked the people for their opinion. People felt that sexual desire ultimately stemmed from a desire for offspring. Informants localized sexual tension in the testes, the organs responsible for erection and sexual desire. The testes also influenced human thought processes, provoking imagery of "women" in the man. These ideas in turn helped to create physiological readiness for copulation. Internally women possessed the equivalent of testes. A certain measure of sexual intercourse was desirable because of the pleasure it aroused. Coitus was even beneficial if pursued in moderation. However, a boy might be weakened for life should he enter sexual relations before 18 or 19 years [834] of age. Masturbation led to insanity or blindness and in a child was punished by whipping the hands with a willow switch. Coitus could also diminish a man's dream power; hence a shaman who wanted to maximize his strength abstained from sexual relations and dreamed of participating in heterosexual intercourse. The women in his dreams represented his animal sponsors. Men possessed stronger drives for coitus than women and some men were more highly sexed than others.

833 An informant believed that people engaged in sex acts more frequently in summer than in winter.[10] In summer unmarried couples copulated in daylight or at night, but always in the privacy of the bush. A husband and wife waited until after nightfall and the sex act between them always occurred in the dwelling. Sometimes a man reached orgasm two or three times in a night but that was uncommon and a mark of youth. When he was 18 the average man reached orgasm about seven times a week. An estimated six out of ten men 20 years old could copulate twice a night and three out of ten, three times a night but probably not every night. By the age of 30 marital relations were reduced to about once a week on the average and at 40 to about once every two weeks.

831 While sexual relations of a casual sort were common enough before marriage, the 593 culture of the Kaska Indians included a notion of love and lifelong devotion. "If a man loved his wife very much he would not marry again when she dies. He'll remain single all his life." Similar sentiments motivated a man on journeys to carry mementoes of

[10] In 1944-45 we estimated a higher frequency of summer conception. Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 37, 232.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahanni ND12
Upper Liard

his sweetheart, like a piece of her hair. Girls might extract a promise of faithfulness in return for a keepsake. No case of suicide for unrequited love could be recalled. The ideal girl was one who cared for her hair; possessed bright, good looking eyes; showed strong or "big" legs, and a wide chest. Physical beauty did not suffice to recommend a girl for marriage. As a matter of fact boys were advised to choose a plain girl, who would not attract other men and hence whose faithfulness could be depended on. An ideal bride was a girl thoroughly imbued with the virtue of generosity, who treated people well, offered food to guests no matter how numerous they might be, even if it meant using the last piece of meat in camp. Such a woman attracted visitors to a camp, always a gratifying experience for a host. This description of ideal womanly virtues suggests how strongly a woman dominated the food that a man brought home. Clearly her rights were final and by no means did such rights represent mere lip service on the part of the man.

Conventions pertaining to modesty were very important. It was indecent for a child beyond the age of three to expose the genitals. No woman revealed to a man any part of her body between the breasts and ankles but apparently the breasts were not as strongly concealed as other areas—at least not in a nursing woman. Few men ever saw their wives completely naked. Women also refrained from undressing before other women. A man took care not to expose his penis to a woman, but nudity before male companions produced little or no embarrassment. Modesty demanded that a woman sit with her legs folded under her, parallel to one another, the dress drawn over the knees. In a mixed group a man sat with his legs crossed. A youth was once severely reprimanded for facing parents-in-law with his legs spread apart. Blushing followed when people called immodesty to one's attention. This indicated shame. Strict rules governed the vocalization of sexual concepts. Boys were advised not to use the terms for the sexual organs until they were "half-old" and never to refer to sexual topics in the presence of siblings. The emphasis on modesty correlated with an interest in pornography and verbal obscenity. Pornography included pictorial and sculptural representations of the genitals. One man reportedly carved phalluses two or three feet long from wood and planted them on ridges at the heads of trails, where they would shock people who unexpectedly encountered them.[9] In anger a man who had lost his wife to a rival might caricature the latter in charcoal on a tree, showing him naked and holding his penis. Children were punished for making obscene drawings. Both sexes expressed verbal obscenity, common expressions including: "Somebody has had intercourse with you!" "You just know how to copulate!" "You have no father!" A woman angered another woman by crying, "You vagina!" Or she might tell her husband, "You copulate with me every night!" For the proper flavor vernacular terms must be substituted for the printed version of these expletives!

Patterned gestures served to communicate sexual interest between sexes. If a girl wanted to reciprocate such an advance she merely laughed. In verbally soliciting coitus

[9] One informant, who had been a member of boat crews freighting on Dease River, severed these shaped sticks of driftwood into huge phalluses, leaving them to bob in the current to shock female passengers on other vessels.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

hair, and running his hand across her shoulders and body. Lovers did not kiss. Various terms of endearment were current, a youth saying, for example, "You're my grub," to indicate his affection. Sibling terms of opposite sex commonly expressed the idea of "sweetheart" or "lover" but lovers also addressed each other as "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." Tumescence might be aided through manual contacts undertaken by a boy but a girl never touched a man's sexual organs. Oral contacts with the female genitals rarely took place, people regarding the woman's sexual parts as poisonous. A man usually removed trousers but not breech cloth or moccasins in sexual situations. The woman assumed a supine position on her back while the man lay over her, supporting part of his weight on the forearms. For a woman to lay astride a man threatened his hunting ability. Women disliked and never permitted coitus *a tergo*. On the average five minutes elapsed between intromission and ejaculation. The contraceptive practice of a woman partially withdrawing at the moment of her partner's orgasm disenchanted the man and interfered with the strength of his climax. Women frequently hit during copulation, particularly at the moment of orgasm. Should a man finish before a woman, she might seize him from behind to force him to remain in her until she reached detumescence. Men did not generally wait for the partner to finish first but proceeded with coitus at a pace to suit themselves. No hygienic measures followed the sex act. In return for her favors a man gave gifts to a partner other than a wife, presents that were returned by a companion who desired to show her affection. When they were presented to a married man such gifts often caused great embarrassment as the wife questioned their origin.

Many women in refusing sex relations apparently rationalized their aversion saying that they wanted to have game successfully. Sometimes a married woman tried to reduce the frequency of coitus in order to avoid pregnancy and childbirth, one gathers without much opposition from the husband. The lackluster of impotence in the male could not be entertained: "a man is ashamed to tell that."

One man denied wife exchange but admitted the partners to the Tahltan, among whom a woman was sometimes loaned to a brother or a friend. We are inclined to disbelieve our informant in view of the fact that the contemporary Kaska are not adverse to wife exchange.[8] The same informant did admit that sometimes an old man who required a young man's assistance in hunting might invite a real or classificatory brother to live with him, allowing the young man sexual access to his wife. The relationship, however, was generally phrased as marriage.[9] Under conditions of polygyny a husband slept with a different sexual partner about once every two nights. "The youngest wife always wants to get more and the man has to try to give her plenty." Nevertheless a polygynous husband exercised careful not to neglect the older woman. When fraternal polyandry was practiced, the auxiliary husband enjoyed access to a wife only during the absence of the first husband. A woman reported her husband's brother's attentions to the senior husband when the latter returned.

In one reported case of homosexuality a man, disinclined to heterosexual relations,

[8] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 343-344.
[9] For additional information concerning fraternal polyandry, see below, pp. 140, 160.